

PLS 449-549

Politics and Governance of the Gulf

Nazarbayev University
Fall 2020 (Online)
9:00 to 11:50 AM on Fridays via Zoom
(Zoom Sessions Consist of Four Consecutive Meetings of 40 Minutes Apiece for Every Class)

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Course Description:

This course seeks to acquaint students with the academic literature concerning the politics of the Persian/Arabian Gulf region. This course examines topics such as the durability of the Gulf monarchies, Great Power relations, the Iraq wars, regional tensions between Iran, KSA, and Israel, the War against ISIL, Al Qaeda, Hezbollah, civil wars in Syria, Yemen, and Libya, GCC relations, and the Gulf States. This is an advanced writing-intensive course offered at the undergraduate and graduate levels. Course requirements differ according to the level it is offered to students. This course is designed to enhance students' knowledge of the Gulf from a comparative perspective.

Course Outcomes:

This course is designed to enhance students' analytical skills so that they are able to effectively:

- Identify various challenges facing the Gulf region in historical and contemporary contexts;
- Evaluate the development and conduct of the politics of the Gulf through a critical lens;
- Compose a research paper based upon a detailed analysis of a contemporary regional issue.

Course Readings:

The course text is available at the Nazarbayev University Library or on Moodle as an e-book. All other assigned readings are available via syllabus hyperlink, NU Library, or NU online databases.

- Joby Warrick, *Black Flags: The Rise of ISIS* (Anchor Books Reprint Edition, 2016).

Course Objectives

- Identify challenges confronting the Gulf in both country-specific and regional contexts;
- Critically evaluate the conduct of the political and economic systems of the Gulf region;
- Compose a research paper based upon an analysis of an important issue facing the Gulf.

Course Requirements:

PLS 449 – Undergraduate Level

1. Three take-home quizzes will be assigned during the semester. The class days on which take-home quizzes are assigned will be chosen by the professor. Students will be tasked with responding to a set of questions related to the assigned readings for the next upcoming class. Students should incorporate all of the assigned readings for the next upcoming class into their written responses. Quizzes are to be submitted by **9:00 AM** via Moodle on the day of the next class meeting and should consist of 1,250 words (approximately 5 pages). Students who do not submit their quizzes on time will automatically lose 25 points. Students who do not submit their quizzes 24 hours after the deadline will receive a score of 0. Students must use footnotes for citations (any style), 1-inch margins, double-spaced pages, and any legible 12-point size font in composing their quizzes.

Take-home quizzes are worth 50 points each and are graded according to the following rubric:

Grading	Assessment
45-50 A	Student's understanding of the assigned readings is very extensive and clear; written response is cogent and creative; usage of proper citation format; question posed by the professor is answered by student in its entirety.
40-44 B	Student's understanding of the assigned readings is commendable yet also somewhat incomplete; written response is intelligible but lacks creativity; citation format is evident but not fully consistent either; question posed by the professor is largely answered by student.
35-39 C	Student's understanding of the assigned readings is intelligible but is evidently lacking; written response demonstrates that the student possesses only a cursory grasp of the assigned readings; citation format is inconsistent and rather unprofessional; question posed by the professor is answered in a satisfactory manner.
30-34 D	Student's understanding of the assigned readings is poor and lacking; written response is largely unintelligible; question posed by the professor is largely unanswered by the student.
0-29 F	Student's understanding of the assigned readings is very poor or nonexistent; written response is virtually unintelligible; question posed by the professor is not answered at all.

2. Students will be tasked with watching ONE assigned video relating to certain aspects of Gulf politics and composing ONE separate policy brief of 1,500 words (approximately 5-6 pages). Briefs are to be based on the assigned videos (**not the assigned articles for the same week**) and a question posed by the professor. Briefs are worth 50 points apiece and students can only write ONE brief. Students must use 1-inch margins, double-spaced pages, and any legible 12-point size font in composing their briefs. **Footnotes are not required.** Briefs are to be submitted via Moodle by **9:00 AM** on the day for which the video has been assigned. Briefs submitted after the deadline will receive a score of 0. Students must sign-up for the policy brief video on which they intend to write their briefs. Only **THREE** students may sign-up to write a policy brief for a given week.

3. Students will be tasked with writing a short essay of 2,000 words (approximately 8 pages) in the form of a critical reaction memo focusing on all of the assigned readings for a given week. Students must sign-up for the week on which they intend to write their reaction memos. No more than **TWO** students may write their reaction memos on a given week and no one is permitted to write memos on Weeks 1, 2, 7, 12, or 14. Students must use footnotes for citations (any style), 1-inch margins, double-spaced pages, and any legible 12-point size font. Students need to analyze and synthesize **ALL** of the assigned readings for a week. **It is not necessary to conduct a review of other scholarly works outside of the syllabus.** Memos are to be submitted by the start of class (**9:00 AM**) via Moodle on the day of the week in which students have signed up for to write their memos. Students who do not submit their memos on time will lose 50 points. Students who do not submit memos 24 hours after the deadline will receive a score of 0. **A bibliography is required.**

4. Students will be tasked with writing a research essay of 3,000 words (approximately 12 pages) on a topic concerning some aspect of Gulf politics. Students will select a single country for analysis, formulate a research question which relates to some aspect of Gulf politics, and conduct single-case study research. **All research essays require an introduction, research question, literature review, hypothesis, research findings, and a conclusion section.** Students need to correspond with the professor to discuss topic ideas and must receive topic approval by **10/16**. **Students are required to include scholarly references not listed in the syllabus in their essays.** Students must use footnotes for citations (any style), 1-inch margins, double-spaced pages, and any legible 12-point size font. Research essays are to be submitted by **December 2, 2020 at 5:00 PM**. Students who do not submit their essays on time will lose a full letter grade. A full letter grade will thereafter also be deducted for **EACH DAY** past the deadline. **A bibliography is required.**

Both the reaction memo and the research essay will be graded according to the following rubric:

Grading	Assessment
<p style="text-align: center;">135-150 A</p>	<p>Student writes in a very coherent and creative manner; usage of proper citation format; research essay/memo adheres to professor's guidelines; few/no grammatical/spelling errors in student's work; student references scholarly articles/texts outside of the syllabus to supplement his/her essay and critically analyzes the works of other scholars/authors.</p>

120-134 B	Student writes in an intelligible manner but his/her work is also somewhat lacking in creativity; citation format is evident but not fully consistent either; research essay/memo adheres to professor's guidelines to a considerable extent but not completely; noticeable grammatical/spelling errors; student references some scholarly articles/texts outside of syllabus to supplement his/her essay and analysis of scholarly works is adequate.
105-119 C	Student barely writes in a satisfactory manner; research essay/memo is lacking in terms of adherence to professor's guidelines; citation format is inconsistent; grammatical/spelling errors are prevalent; few references to scholarly works outside of syllabus readings; critical analysis of other works is inadequate.
90-104 D	Student writes in an unsatisfactory manner; citation format suffers from serious flaws; research essay/memo does not adhere to professor's guidelines; grammatical/spelling errors; few references to works outside of syllabus; minor critical analysis of other works.
0-89 F	Student writes in an unintelligible manner; citation format is wholly nonexistent; research essay/memo does not adhere to the professor's guidelines at all; multiple grammatical/spelling errors; few/no references to scholarly articles/texts outside of syllabus readings; critical analysis of scholarship is inadequate.

Grading:

3 Take-Home Quizzes	150 (50 Points Each)
Policy Brief	50
Critical Reaction Memo	150
Research Essay	150
Total	500 Points

Scale:

	A: 475-500	A-: 450-474
B+: 425-449	B: 400-424	B-: 375-399
C+: 350-374	C: 325-349	C-: 300-324
D+: 275-299	D: 250-274	F: 249 and below

PLS 549 – Graduate Level

1. Active participation is essential for students at the graduate level. As such, graduate students will be tasked with writing **TWO** discussion questions each for a total of **10 weeks** over the course of the semester. Students may choose the weeks on which they intend to write their discussion questions. Discussion questions should clearly demonstrate that a student has read the assigned readings for a given week. The main points of assigned readings should be explained in about 5-7 sentences in detail and followed by a question. Questions should be designed to challenge authors' conclusions. This exercise is designed to enhance students' critical analytical skills. Students are to submit their questions via **EMAIL** by **9:00 AM** the day **BEFORE** the class meets online.

2. Students will compose a book review for the assigned text for this course. Students are to respond to a question posed by the professor as well as provide a critical analysis of its main arguments. Book reviews will consist of 1,500 words (approximately 5 pages). Students must use footnotes for citations (any style), 1-inch margins, double-spaced pages, and any legible 12-point size font. **Students are also required to incorporate other reviews of the assigned book into their review.** Book reviews are to be submitted via Moodle by **9:00 AM** on the day that the class meets to discuss the book. Book reviews submitted after the due date will receive a grade of 0.

Book reviews based upon the assigned course text will be graded according to the following rubric:

Grading	Assessment
45-50 A	Student's understanding of the book's main arguments is very extensive and clear; written response is cogent and creative; usage of proper citation format; question posed by the professor is answered by student in its entirety; critical analysis of arguments is exemplary.
40-44 B	Student's understanding of the book's main arguments is commendable yet also somewhat incomplete; written response is intelligible but lacks creativity; citation format is evident but not fully consistent either; question posed by the professor is largely answered by student; critical analysis of arguments is adequate.
35-39 C	Student's understanding of the book's main arguments is intelligible but is evidently lacking; written response demonstrates that the student possesses a cursory grasp of the book's main arguments; citation format is inconsistent and rather unprofessional; question posed by the professor is answered in a satisfactory manner; critical analysis of the book is lacking.
30-34 D	Student's understanding of the book's main arguments is poor or lacking; written response is largely unintelligible; question posed by the

	professor is largely unanswered by student; critical analysis of the book is not satisfactory.
0-29 F	Student's understanding of the book's main arguments is very poor or nonexistent; written response is virtually unintelligible; question posed by the professor is not answered at all; student does not critically analyze the book.

3. Students will be tasked with watching ONE assigned video relating to certain aspects of Gulf politics and composing ONE separate policy brief of 1,500 words (approximately 5-6 pages). Briefs are to be based on the assigned videos (**not the assigned articles for the same week**) and a question posed by the professor. Briefs are worth 50 points apiece and students can only write ONE brief. Students must use 1-inch margins, double-spaced pages, and any legible 12-point size font in composing their briefs. **Footnotes are not required.** Briefs are to be submitted via Moodle by **9:00 AM** on the day for which the video has been assigned. Briefs submitted after the deadline will receive a score of 0. Students must sign-up for the policy brief video on which they intend to write their briefs. Only **THREE** students may sign-up to write a policy brief for a given week.

4. Students will be tasked with writing a short essay of 2,500 words (approximately 10 pages) in the form of a critical reaction memo focusing on all of the assigned readings for a given week. Students must sign-up for the week on which they intend to write their reaction memos. No more than **TWO** students may write their reaction memos on a given week and no one is permitted to write memos on Weeks 1, 2, 7, 12, or 14. Students must use footnotes for citations (any style), 1-inch margins, double-spaced pages, and any legible 12-point size font. Students need to analyze and synthesize **ALL** of the assigned readings for a week. **It is not necessary to conduct a review of other scholarly works outside of the syllabus.** Memos are to be submitted by the start of class (**9:00 AM**) via Moodle on the day of the week in which students have signed up for to write their memos. Students who do not submit their memos on time will lose 50 points. Students who do not submit memos 24 hours after the deadline will receive a score of 0. **A bibliography is required.**

5. Students will be tasked with writing a research essay of 3,500 words (approximately 14 pages) on a topic concerning some aspect of Gulf politics. Students will select a single country for analysis, formulate a research question which relates to some aspect of Gulf politics, and conduct single-case study research. **All research essays require an introduction, research question, literature review, hypothesis, research findings, and a conclusion section.** Students need to correspond with the professor to discuss topic ideas and must receive topic approval by **10/16**. **Students are required to include scholarly references not listed in the syllabus in their essays.** Students must use footnotes for citations (any style), 1-inch margins, double-spaced pages, and any legible 12-point size font. Research essays are to be submitted by **December 2, 2020 at 5:00 PM**. Students who do not submit their essays on time will lose a full letter grade. A full letter grade will thereafter also be deducted for **EACH DAY** past the deadline. **A bibliography is required.**

Both the reaction memo and the research essay will be graded according to the following rubric:

Grading	Assessment
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135-150 A	Student writes in a very coherent and creative manner; usage of proper citation format; research essay/memo adheres to professor's guidelines; few/no grammatical/spelling errors in student's work; student references scholarly articles/texts outside of the syllabus to supplement his/her essay and critically analyzes the works of other scholars/authors.
120-134 B	Student writes in an intelligible manner but his/her work is also somewhat lacking in creativity; citation format is evident but not fully consistent either; research essay/memo adheres to professor's guidelines to a considerable extent but not completely; noticeable grammatical/spelling errors; student references some scholarly articles/texts outside of syllabus to supplement his/her essay and analysis of scholarly works is adequate.
105-119 C	Student barely writes in a satisfactory manner; research essay/memo is lacking in terms of adherence to professor's guidelines; citation format is inconsistent; grammatical/spelling errors are prevalent; few references to scholarly works outside of syllabus readings; critical analysis of other works is inadequate.
90-104 D	Student writes in an unsatisfactory manner; citation format suffers from serious flaws; research essay/memo does not adhere to professor's guidelines; grammatical/spelling errors; few references to works outside of syllabus; minor critical analysis of other works.
0-89 F	Student writes in an unintelligible manner; citation format is wholly nonexistent; research essay/memo does not adhere to the professor's guidelines at all; multiple grammatical/spelling errors; few/no references to scholarly articles/texts outside of syllabus readings; critical analysis of scholarship is inadequate.

Grading:

20 Discussion Questions in 10 Weeks	100 (Each Question is Worth 5 Points)
Book Review	50
Policy Brief	50
Critical Reaction Memo	150
Research Essay	150

Total	500 points
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Scale:

	A: 475-500	A-: 450-474
B+: 425-449	B: 400-424	B-: 375-399
C+: 350-374	C: 325-349	C-: 300-324
D+: 275-299	D: 250-274	F: 249 and below

Student Attendance Notice and Assignment Extension Policy:

All enrolled students need to attend ALL seminar meetings. Students are required to submit a valid medical note to SSH within 3 business days of returning to health after missing class. Students who fall ill also need to contact the professor **before** the due dates of assignments. Extensions can only be given if the student can provide a valid medical excuse or a very convincing explanation.

Academic Integrity:

Students are required to ensure that the work which they submit for grading is their own. Students must provide citations in the form of footnotes when referencing the works of other scholars. Instances of plagiarism will result in receiving a score of **0** for an assignment. All instances in which plagiarism is suspected will be referred to SSH for disciplinary review. **Copying, rephrasing of text w/o citations, as well as submitting unoriginal work constitutes plagiarism.** All students are expected to treat one another with dignity and respect. Students are encouraged to voice their opinions on controversial political issues, albeit in a professional and courteous manner.

Class Schedule:

Week 1: Oil Monarchies
8/21

- André Bank, Thomas Richter, and Anna Sunik, “Durable, Yet Different: Monarchies in the Arab Spring,” *Journal of Arabian Studies* 4.2 (2014): 163-179.
- Anoushiravan Ehteshami, “Reform from Above: The Politics of Participation in the Oil Monarchies,” *International Affairs* 79.1 (January 2003): 53-75.
- Sofie Hamdi and Mohammad Salman, “The Hedging Strategy of Small Arab Gulf States,” *Asian Politics and Policy* 12.2 (2020): 127-152.

Week 2: Gulf States and the Arab Spring
8/28 – THQ 1 for PLS 449

- F. Gregory Gause III, “Kings for All Seasons: How the Middle East’s Monarchies Survived the Arab Spring,” *Brookings Doha Center Analysis Paper No. 8* (September 2013).
- Sean L. Yom and F. Gregory Gause III, “Resilient Royals: How Arab Monarchies Hang On,” *Journal of Democracy* 23.4 (October 2012): 74-88.
- Zoltan Barany, “Unrest and State Response in Arab Monarchies,” *Mediterranean Quarterly* 24.2 (Spring 2013): 5-38.

- Tarek Masoud, “Has the Door Closed on Arab Democracy?” *Journal of Democracy* 26.1 (January 2015): 74-87.

Week 3: Israel and the Gulf States

9/4

- Raymond Hinnebusch, “Revisiting the 1967 Arab-Israel War and its Consequences for the Regional System,” *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 44.4 (2017): 593-609.
- “Israel and the Gulf States,” *Strategic Comments* 25.6 (2019): i-iii.
- Clive Jones and Yoel Guzansky, “Israel’s Relations with the Gulf States: Toward the Emergence of a Tacit Security Regime?” *Contemporary Security Policy* 38.3 (2017): 398-419.
- John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, “The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy,” *Middle East Policy Council* 33.3 (2006): 29-87.
- Dag Tuastad, “ Hamas-PLO Relations Before and After the Arab Spring,” *Middle East Policy* 20.3 (Fall 2013): 86-98.
- “An Eye for an Eye: The Anatomy of Mossad’s Dubai Operation,” *Der Spiegel* (January 17, 2011).
- Policy Brief VIDEO: “Netanyahu at War,” *PBS Frontline* (January 5, 2016).

Week 4: Iran

9/11

- Ben Rich, “Gulf War 4.0: Iran, Saudi Arabia and the Complexification of the Persian Gulf Equation,” *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 23.4 (2012): 471-486.
- Dalia Dassa Kaye and Frederic Wehrey, “A Nuclear Iran: The Reactions of Neighbors,” *Survival* 49.2 (2007): 111-128.
- Abhijit Singh, ““Dark Chill in the Persian Gulf’: Iran’s Conventional and Unconventional Naval Forces,” *Maritime Affairs* 6.2 (2010): 108-132.
- Jinawei Han and Hassan Hakimian, “The Regional Security Complex in the Persian Gulf: The Contours of Iran’s GCC Policy,” *Asian Journal of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies* 13.4 (2019): 493-508.
- Mohammed Nuruzzaman, “Conflicts between Iran and the Gulf Arab States: An Economic Evaluation,” *Strategic Analysis* 36.4 (2012): 542-553.
- Dexter Filkins, “The Twilight of the Iranian Revolution,” *The New Yorker* (May 25, 2020).
- Policy Brief VIDEO: “Bitter Rivals: Iran and Saudi Arabia,” *PBS Frontline* (February 20, 2018).

Week 5: GCC and the Qatar Crisis

9/18

- A.K. Pasha, “The Gulf Cooperation Council: A Regional Approach to Peace, Security, and Development,” *Journal of the Indian Ocean Region* 8.1 (2012): 90-98.
- Luiz Pinto, “Sustaining the GCC Currency Pegs: The Need for Collaboration,” *Brookings Doha Center Policy Briefing* (February 2018).
- Yoel Guzansky, “Lines Drawn in the Sand: Territorial Disputes and GCC Unity,” *The Middle East Journal* 70.4 (2016): 543-559.
- Daniel Byman and William McCants, “The Dangers of Picking Sides in the Qatar Crisis,” *The Atlantic* (June 16, 2017).

- Miroslav Zafirov, “The Qatar Crisis – Why the Blockade Failed,” *Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs* 11.2 (2017): 191-201.
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- Policy Brief VIDEO: “Gulf Crisis One Year On: What’s Next for Qatar,” *Al Jazeera* (2018)?

Week 6: The Iraq Wars

9/25

- Ray Takeyh, “The Iran-Iraq War: A Reassessment,” *Middle East Journal* 64.3 (2010): 365-383.
- John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, “An Unnecessary War,” *Foreign Policy* (January/February 2003): 51-59.
- Larry Diamond, “What Went Wrong in Iraq,” *Foreign Affairs* 83.5 (September/October 2004): 34-56.
- John B. Alterman, “Iraq and the Gulf States: The Balance of Fear,” *United States Institute of Peace Special Report* 189 (August 2007).
- Policy Brief VIDEO: “Bush’s War,” *PBS Frontline* Part I and Part II (March 24-5, 2008).

Week 7: KSA and UAE

10/2 – THQ 2 for PLS 449

- Frederic Wehrey, “Saudi Arabia’s Anxious Autocrats,” *Journal of Democracy* 26.2 (2015): 71-85.
- Babak Mohammadzadeh, “Beyond Royal Politics: State Transformation and Foreign Policy in Saudi Arabia,” *Third World Quarterly* 40.8 (2019): 1571-1589.
- Christian Henderson, “The UAE as a Nexus State,” *Journal of Arabian Studies* 7.1 (2017): 83-93.
- Christopher M. Davidson, “Dubai and the United Arab Emirates: Security Threats,” *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 36.3 (2009): 431-447.
- Christopher M. Davidson, “The Emirates of Abu Dhabi and Dubai: Contrasting Roles in the International System,” *Asian Affairs* 38.1 (March 2007): 33-48.
- David D. Kirkpatrick, “The Most Powerful Arab Ruler Isn’t M.B.S. It’s M.B.Z.,” *The New York Times* (June 2, 2019).
- Tarek Masoud, “The Prince,” *Journal of Democracy* 31.3 (July 2020): 172-178.
- Policy Brief VIDEO: “The Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia,” *PBS Frontline* (October 1, 2019).

Week 8: Qatar and Bahrain

10/16

- A. al-Rashdi, “The Bahraini Uprising of 2011 and the Regime’s Securitisation of Sectarianism as a Survival Mechanism,” *Asian Journal of Middle Eastern & Islamic Studies* 13.4 (2019): 509-533.
- Graham E. Fuller, “Does Qatar Really Threaten the Gulf?” *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* 36.5 (August/September 2017): 20-24.
- Justin Gengler and Buthaina Al-Khelaifi, “Crisis, State Legitimacy, and Political Participation in a Non-Democracy: How Qatar Withstood the 2017 Blockade,” *The Middle East Journal* 73.3 (Autumn 2019): 397-416.
- Krista E. Wiegand, “Bahrain, Qatar, and the Hawar Islands: Resolution of a Gulf Territorial Dispute,” *The Middle East Journal* 66.1 (Winter 2012): 79-96.

- Policy Brief VIDEO: “Bahrain: Shouting in the Dark,” *Al Jazeera* (June 19, 2012).

Week 9: Kuwait and Oman

10/23

- Joseph Sassoon and Alissa Walter, “The Iraqi Occupation of Kuwait: New Historical Perspectives,” *The Middle East Journal* 71.4 (Autumn 2017): 607-628.
- Emily Regan Willis, “Democratic Paradoxes: Women’s Rights and Democratization in Kuwait,” *The Middle East Journal* 67.2 (Spring 2013): 173-184.
- Steve L. Monroe, “Salafis in the Parliament: Democratic Attitudes and Party Politics in the Gulf,” *The Middle East Journal* 66.3 (Summer 2012):409-424.
- Abdel Razzaq Takriti, “The 1970 Coup in Oman Reconsidered,” *Journal of Arabian Studies* 3.2 (2013): 155-173.
- Jeffrey A. Lefebvre, “Oman’s Foreign Policy in the Twenty-First Century,” *Middle East Policy* 17.1 (Spring 2010): 99-114.
- Yasmina Abouzzohour, “As Oman Enters a New Era, Economic and Political Challenges Persist,” *Brookings Institution* (January 15, 2020).

Week 10: Yemen, Libya, and the Horn of Africa

10/30

- Daniel Byman, “Yemen’s Disastrous War,” *Survival* 60.5 (2018): 141-158.
- Bruce R. Nardulli, “The Arab States’ Experiences,” in *Precision and Purpose: Airpower in the Libyan Civil War*, ed. Karl P. Mueller (Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation, 2015): 339-372.
- Girogio Cafiero and Daniel Wagner, “How the Gulf Arab Rivalry Tore Libya Apart,” *The National Interest* (December 11, 2015).
- Florence Gaub, “A Libyan Recipe for Disaster,” *Survival* 56.1 (2014): 101-120.
- A. Huliaras and S. Kalantzakos, “The Gulf States and the Horn of Africa: A New Hinterland?” *Middle East Policy* 24.4 (Winter 2017): 63-73.
- Policy Brief VIDEO: “The Lust for Libya: How a Nation was Torn Apart,” *Al Jazeera* (October 18, 2018).

Week 11: Al Qaeda and Hezbollah

11/6

- Rohan Gunaratna and Aviv Oreg, “Al Qaeda’s Organizational Structure and its Evolution,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 33.12 (2010): 1043-1078.
- John R. Bradley, “Al Qaeda and the House of Saud: Eternal Enemies or Secret Bedfellows?” *The Washington Quarterly* 28.4 (2005): 139-152.
- Sarah Philips, “Al Qaeda and the Struggle for Yemen,” *Survival* 53.1 (2011): 95-120.
- Bruce Hoffman, “Al Qaeda’s Uncertain Future,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* (2013): 635-653.
- Krista E. Wiegand, “Reformation of a Terrorist Group: Hezbollah as a Lebanese Political Party,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 32.8 (2009): 669-680.
- Iver Gabrielsen, “The Evolution of Hezbollah’s Strategy and Military Performance, 1982-2006,” *Small Wars and Insurgencies* 25.2 (2014): 257-283.
- Andrew Exum, “The Hubris of Hezbollah,” *The Atlantic* (September 18, 2017).
- VIDEO: “Lebanon: Sibling of Syria,” *Al Jazeera* (March 14, 2013).

- Policy Brief VIDEO: “The Fight for Yemen,” *PBS Frontline* (April 7, 2015).

Week 12: ISIL

11/13 – THQ 3 for PLS 449 (449 – Read Prologue, Book I, Articles; 549 – Read Book in Full)

- Joby Warrick, *Black Flags: The Rise of ISIS* (Anchor Books Reprint Edition, 2016).
- Hassanein Ali, “The Rise and Fall of Islamic State,” *Asian Affairs* 51.1 (2020): 71-94.
- James Dobbins and Seth G. Jones, “The End of a Caliphate,” *Survival* 59.3 (2017): 55-72.
- Florence Gaub, “The Cult of ISIS,” *Survival* 58.1 (2016): 113-130.
- Audrey Cronin, “ISIS is Not a Terrorist Group,” *Foreign Affairs* 94.2 (March/April 2015): 87-98.
- VIDEO: “Zarqawi: The Father of ISIS,” *Declassified: Untold Stories of American Spies* (2016).
- VIDEO: “Bringing Down Baghdadi,” *Vice News* (2019).
- Policy Brief VIDEO: “The Rise of ISIS,” *PBS Frontline* (October 28, 2014).

Week 13: Syria and Jordan

11/20

- Ted Galen Carpenter, “Tangled Web: The Syrian Civil War and Its Implications,” *Mediterranean Quarterly* 24.1 (2013): 1-11.
- C. Phillips, “Sectarianism and Conflict in Syria,” *Third World Quarterly* 36.2 (2015): 357-376.
- Gadi Hitman, “Gulf States’ Policies towards Syrian Refugees: Charity before Hospitality,” *Asian Affairs* 50.1 (2019): 80-101.
- Robin Wright, “The Dangerous Dregs of ISIS,” *The New Yorker* (April 16, 2019).
- Charles J. Sullivan, “Sidestepping a Quagmire: Russia, Syria, and the Lessons of the Soviet-Afghan War,” *Asian Affairs* 49.1 (March 2018).
- P.R. Kumaraswamy and Manjari Singh, “Population Pressure in Jordan and the Role of Syrian Refugees,” *Migration and Development* 6.3 (2017): 412-427.
- Hardin Lang, William Wechsler, and Alia Awadallah, “The Future of U.S.-Jordanian Counterterrorism Cooperation,” *Center for American Progress* (November 30, 2017).
- Policy Brief VIDEO: “Obama at War,” *PBS Frontline* (May 26, 2015).

Week 14: Great Powers and the Gulf

11/27

- Degang Sun, “The US Military Bases in the Gulf Cooperation Council States: Dynamics of Readjustment,” *Journal of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies (in Asia)* 4.4 (2010): 44-63.
- Max Fisher, “How Saudi Arabia Captured Washington,” *Vox* (March 21, 2016).
- Samuel Ramani, “Russia and the UAE: An Ideal Partnership,” *Middle East Policy* 27.1 (Spring 2020): 125-140.
- Mo Chen, “Exploring Economic Relations between China and the GCC States,” *Journal of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies (in Asia)* 5.4 (2011): 88-105.
- Alexander Shumilin and Inna Shumilina, “Russia as a Gravity Pole of the GCC’s New Foreign Policy Pragmatism,” *The International Spectator* 52.2 (2017): 115-129.
- Jonathan Fulton, “Iran Isn’t the Only Middle Eastern Country in a Unique Partnership with China,” *Atlantic Council* (July 2020).